

men," *Ethnos*, IV (Stockholm, 1939), 81-104, 5 figs.

Fig. 5—Chessman from Afrāsiyāb. Connections with India and the Muslim world.

HENRY HELLESEN, *De sorte Telte* (The Black Tents) (Copenhagen, 1943), 158 pp., illus.

KAARLO HILDÉN, "Abdalerna, ett asiatiskt tiggarfolk med tusenåriga traditioner" (The Abdals, an Asiatic Tribe of Beggars with Traditions from the Remote Past), *Jorden Runt*, XV (Stockholm, 1943), 53-66, illus.

SAM MARK, "Kalmuckernas land," *Jorden Runt*, XVI (Stockholm, 1944), 261-70, illus.

AAGE JØRGENSEN, *Kaukasus* (Copenhagen, 1944), 198 pp., illus.

C. G. FEILBERG, *La tente noire. Contribution ethnographique à l'histoire culturelle des nomades*, Nationalmuseets Skrifter, Ethnografisk Raekke, II (Copenhagen, 1944) xiv + 254 pp., 19 figs., 3 maps (also used as a dissertation).

C. G. FEILBERG, *Afrika. En Verdensdel lukker sig op* (A Continent Disclosing Itself) (Copenhagen, 1945), 160 pp., 41 figs.

Excavations

HARALD INGHOLT, *Rapport préliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie (1932-38)*, Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Archaeologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser, III (Copenhagen, 1940), 154 pp., 7 figs. 48 pls.

A preliminary report of the first campaign (1931) was published in 1934 (*Ibid.*, I).

P. J. RIIS, *Hama-Samlingen*. Nationalmuseets Gule Bøger (Copenhagen, 1943), 39 pp., 25 figs.

T. J. ARNE, *Excavations at Shah Tepé, Iran*. Reports from the Scientific Expedition to

the North-Western Provinces of China under the Leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin, VII (Stockholm, 1945) (Publication 27), 367 pp., 730 figs., some of which on 92 pls.

Pp. 331-44: "The Mussulman Finds."

Personal

T. J. ARNE, "Stämmor som tystnat, I," *Stimmen, die verstummt sind. Fornvännen*, XXXIII (Stockholm, 1938), 300-03; German summary, p. 319.

Contains a bibliography of the numismatical works of Richard Vasmer.

Exhibitions

Stockholm, National Museum, Oct.-Dec., 1939: Exhibition of Persian and Indian Miniatures.

Gothenburg, Röhsska Konstslojdmuseet, Nov.-Dec., 1939: Exhibition of Oriental Carpets.

Stockholm, National Museum, May-Oct., 1940: Exhibition of Fragments of Textiles Excavated in Egypt.

An important display of specimens in Swedish museums.

Stockholm, Statens Historiska Museum, 1945: Exhibition of Oriental Textiles. Catalogue: Agnes Geijer, *Orientalisk textilkonst* (Stockholm, 1945), 13 pp., illus.

The exhibition contained chiefly brocades and embroideries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SPANISH MUSLIM ART 1939-1946 *

BY LEOPOLDO TORRES BALBÁS

In the year 1492, with the conquest of Granada by the Catholic Sovereigns, Isabella

* Translated by Stefi Reiss.

and Ferdinand, the Islamic domination of the Iberian Peninsula came to an end; and as the first waves of the Renaissance reached these new shores, Christopher Columbus discovered a new continent and the Jews were expelled from Spain. From this critical moment onward the strong ties, which for many centuries had united Spain with Islam, were severed and the outstanding influence which Muslim civilization had had on Spanish culture during the Middle Ages was completely forgotten.

The African enterprises of the Spaniards at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century were confined to military expeditions and were made only to safeguard navigation in the western Mediterranean and to combat piracy which was a constant menace to the eastern and southern shores of Spain. Spaniards, eager for adventure, riches, or proselytism went to distant America, ignoring and despising nearby Africa. One could say that the Straits of Gibraltar with their maximum width of twenty-one kilometers had turned into a deep gap, separating for centuries two peoples who, until then, had lived in close communion.

The differences in language and religion, as well as the triumph of Renaissance culture, finally effected Spain's complete break with the Muslim past. The most famous men of Spanish genius, including those of international renown such as the great Cervantes, ignored the importance of Muslim influence of the Middle Ages and judged Islamic culture by the coexisting rudimentary and primitive civilization of North Africa which was a nest of pirates at that time. The same Cervantes, fighting at Lepanto against the Turks, and imprisoned at Algiers, carried, branded on his body and soul, the painful marks of five years of captivity in a primitive and half barbaric society. Just as the Spaniards of action, eager for a free life of adventure, ignored neighboring Africa for the more or less treach-

erous mirage of remote America, so men of outstanding intellect were blind to the Islamic culture of the Occident. This they overlooked completely, and following European trends of thought they turned their eyes with enthusiasm toward remote classical antiquity, trying to revive it. All the Spaniards of the Renaissance, whether they were of adventurous and dynamic character, or of more spiritual bent, aimed at distant goals; geographically to far off lands and historically to antiquity.

There were still a few Moors in Spain in the sixteenth century, since they were expelled only in 1610; however, they were, according to repeated testimonies, almost exclusively rural people, simple peasants, plain, industrious and honest and with a rudimentary culture.

It is hardly necessary to mention that art had suffered the same fate as the rest of Spanish Muslim culture. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries its previous manifestations were almost completely forgotten. The traces, however, have continued to live, especially in the most intimate recesses of the popular spirit. They have persisted in the customs and legends of the people, and it is to this tradition that contemporary writers are referring when they speak of "eternal Andalusia."

One of the consequences of the romantic movement in the first half of the nineteenth century was rehabilitation of Spanish Muslim culture and art. The dream palace of the Alhambra at Granada, miraculously preserved in spite of its extreme fragility, provided a most appropriate stage for the revival of an imaginary world of knightly adventures and mysterious legends which had been refined and brought to life again by the literary art of various writers, chiefly Washington Irving. This was also the inception of interest in the culture of Muslim Spain, an interest which has continued to grow through the years.

From the studies of the last few years, it is obvious that the great distinction of the Spanish culture of the Middle Ages lies in the several centuries of close contact between the civilizations of the Orient and the Occident. If there is such a thing as an original Spanish art, it owes its origin to the mixture of those two currents which produced works perplexing to strangers in their radical dissimilarity to the art of the rest of Europe.

Knowledge of Spanish Muslim art as a whole, as well as a more thorough examination of the archeological and cultural remains, has made great progress in recent times, thanks to the publication of a great number of studies. Nevertheless, there is still a wide field for investigation of its many aspects and a need for detailed analysis of the monuments which are still extant.

During the last few years activity in the study of Spanish Muslim art has continued at a normal pace. As a consequence of the Civil War of the years 1936 to 1939 we deplore the loss of two monuments of the "Mudéjar" period; that is to say, buildings constructed on Christian territory but under Muslim influence. The more important of the two, the Infantada Palace at Guadalajara, was an example of this architecture which, from originality, anticlassicism, and pictorial value, is exclusively Spanish and has no parallel outside of this country. The other building, which contained Mudéjar ceilings, plasterwork, and glazed tiles of great artistic value, was the convent of San Juan de la Penitencia of Toledo, founded in 1514 by Cardinal Cisneros. It was also destroyed by fire.

In the following pages, studies of Spanish Muslim art published during the period from 1939 to 1946 will be reviewed. At another time I shall write more extensively as to the present status of these studies, to the blank spots which still persist, and to the problems which continue to arise. A full comprehension

of Islamic art in its entirety cannot be fully achieved without a knowledge of the contributions of the Iberian Peninsula, one of the *finis terrae* of Muslim culture, where artistic movements, born in Syria, Iran, Mesopotamia, or Egypt, were reflected and where an original style was evolved from these elements, a style which forms an integral part of Muslim art.

I. SPANISH MUSLIM ART

Architecture

During the recent restoration of the cloister of the Collegiate Church of Tudela (Navarra), construction of which was started somewhat before 1200, remains were found which undoubtedly belonged to the mosque that preceded the Christian structure on the same site. They are singularly interesting since no previous knowledge existed of any Islamic culture in this frontier province antedating the remains of the Aljafería of Zaragoza which dates from the eleventh century. Manuel Gómez-Moreno, the great master of Spanish archeology, dates the remains of Tudela as of the ninth century, during the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān II.¹ They are: a merlon like those of the Cordoban mosque; a carved stone with a design similar to the one painted on a door of that building, made under the reign of al-Hakam II; a column with a capital derived from the Corinthian, but without any similarity to any other known; as well as several loose pieces. Of special importance, whether of the ninth or tenth century, are a series of brackets and a series of lobes or cylindrical scrolls, beveled, and of a Byzantine type. Some of these are used in the roof cornices, installed in the church after 1200, while others appeared in the walls of the

¹ Manuel Gómez-Moreno, "La Mezquita mayor de Tudela," *Príncipe de Viana*, VI (Pamplona, 1945), 9-27.

cloisters. In the mosque of Tudela, which survived to the end of the twelfth century, the Romanesque artists could, therefore, see these remains and were able to copy them later in certain French churches, thus originating the bracket that Viollet-le-Duc called, inappropriately, *à copeaux*.

Several studies have been published about buildings of outstanding importance such as the mosque of Córdoba. Some of these texts refer to the event which occurred shortly after the conquest of that city by the Muslims when half of the Christian church was expropriated by the conquerors in order to install an Islamic prayer niche. Somewhat later, under the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I, they acquired the rest of the premises, intending to demolish the church and to create a new mosque in its place. Ocaña, after having accumulated all references by Arab authors, states that this partition of the Church is in no way substantiated. The church may have had to establish itself elsewhere in the immediate neighborhood when the building became a mosque. His deductions regarding the decadence of Córdoba after the conquest by the Arabs are also very interesting. The bridge caved in and the city walls were half destroyed.²

Creswell dedicates a large part of a chapter in his monumental work—which is rather a series of monographs than a real history of architecture—to the description, origin of shapes, and analysis of the mosque of Córdoba constructed by 'Abd al-Raḥmān I.³ There is little information in Creswell's book on this particular monument that has not been published previously. It is, however, accompanied by excellent plans of the old part, and by draw-

ings of the façade and cross sections of the former arches. On the other hand, his plan of the entire mosque is the rather inexact one first published by Carpenter in 1883 and republished in 1905 by the French architect Nizet.

Creswell mentions, only in passing, the repair and enlargement of the main Cordoban mosque by 'Abd al-Raḥmān I and his son Muhammad in the eleventh century, without justifying the reason for this omission. Nor does he allude to the documentary data recently discovered by Lévi-Provençal concerning these renovations which had been commented on previously by Lambert and then more fully by the author of this survey.⁴ The detailed study of the monument by its architect Hernández Jiménez, roundly contradicts the newly found data according to which the mosque of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I had nine naves and that 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, in addition to other enlargements, added one more on each side, making eleven. According to a hypothesis that puts the building data in accordance with documentary evidence, the mosque of the first Umayyad emir consisted of eleven naves, as has been maintained so far. The outermost sections, however, destined for the women, were not connected with these naves, and the work of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II may have consisted in adding them to the others and in placing the stands for the women in another part of the mosque. For this latter change, there exists documentary reference.

Castejón, author of this ingenious hypothesis, has recently published an article on

² M. Ocaña Jiménez, "La Basílica de San Vicente y la Gran Mezquita de Córdoba," *Al-Andalus*, VII (1942), 347-66.

³ K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture, Umayyads, Early 'Abbāsids, Ṭūlūnides*, II (Oxford, 1940) 138-61.

⁴ E. Lambert, "Histoire de la Grande Mosquée de Cordoue aux VIII^e et IX^e siècles d'après des textes inédits," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, II (Paris, 1936), 165-79 (Faculté des Lettres de l'Université d'Alger); L. Torres Balbás, "Nuevos datos documentales sobre la construcción de la mezquita de Córdoba en el reinado de 'Abd al-Raḥmān II," *Al-Andalus*, VI (1941), 411-22.

the portal added by Muhammad I to the mosque of Córdoba. The portal is dated by an inscription in the year 241 H./855 A.D. Obsessed by the recently discovered data, Castejón believes that the decorations of the sides, which have greatly deteriorated, date from the same epoch and not from the mosque of the seventh century as has been supposed up to now. He maintains that the portal with its carrying arch, where a beveled decoration is in a state of perfect preservation, was restored during the nineteenth century.⁵ Both these hypotheses are inadmissible, which fact I am trying to prove in a work now being printed.

Creswell has not published anything on another architectural remain of the ninth century which still exists in Seville and which I described in *Al-Andalus*.⁶ I am referring to the lower part of the minaret of the main mosque, erected by 'Abd al-Rahmān II in 214 H./829-30 A.D.—according to an inscription carved in the shaft of one of its columns preserved at the Archeological Museum of Seville; this is the most ancient Arabic inscription known in Spain. The minaret of stone, square on the outside and circular inside, contains a winding staircase.

In Creswell, Hernández Jiménez describes the Alcazaba of Mérida (Badajoz) and also publishes several good plans. According to an inscribed flat stone exhibited today at the Archeological Museum of that same city and which originally was over the main portal, 'Abd al-Rahmān II erected it in 220 H./835 A.D. Following this monograph, Hernández adds a note on the walls and the ramparts of

Toledo, parts of which, he believes, date from 222 H./837 A.D.⁷

In *Al-Andalus* I commented upon the work published by Lambert on the cupolas of the main mosques of Tunisia and Spain of the ninth and tenth centuries.⁸ This French Hispanist finds some relation between the cupolas of the mosques of Kairouan and Tunisia and those of the enlargement by al-Ḥakām II of the one at Córdoba. I believe that the two types are independent and that the model for the Spanish ones, together with several other artistic elements, must have come from the eastern Mediterranean during the reign of that ruler.⁹

In some pages, I dealt with the origin of the Cordoban cupolas on crossed arches, a problem which may prove to be very controversial. In doing so I picked out and described samples of Roman vaults, semicircular, barrel, or groined; the French vault in *arc-de-cloître*; and cupolas, with projecting arches in the soffit of their vaults—all of which have hardly been mentioned by the historians of architecture. It is my belief that from these examples stem the Armenian vaults of the tenth and later centuries, examples of which were published by Baltrušaitis; and perhaps even those of Iran and Mesopotamia, known mainly through Pope, although their forms are very remote from the Roman styles. After they had been brought to Spain from the eastern Mediterranean during the tenth century, it is probable that the French vaults of the eleventh and twelfth centuries described by Lambert, were created under their influence. It is also probable that the Lombardian and

⁵ R. Castejón y Martínez de Arizala, "La portada de Mohamed I (Puerta de San Esteban) en la Gran Mezquita de Córdoba," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes de Córdoba*, XV (1945), 491-509.

⁶ L. Torres Balbás, "La primitiva mezquita mayor de Sevilla," *Al-Andalus*, XI (1946), 425-39.

⁷ Creswell, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-207.

⁸ E. Lambert, "Les coupôles des grandes mosquées de Tunisie et d'Espagne aux IX^e et X^e siècles," *Hespéris*, XXII (Paris, 1936), 127-32.

⁹ T., "Las cúpulas de las mas importantes mezquitas españolas y tunecinas," *Al-Andalus*, IV (1939), 391-96.

Norman vaults of the eleventh century, the real ogive vaults, derive from Roman construction, and they survived in these territories all through the late Middle Ages.¹⁰ For the odd history of these vaults and their possible origin it may be interesting to note that the French word "ogive," used to designate their diagonal arches or ribs, comes, as demonstrated by Colin, from the Spanish Muslim *al-djubb* and was converted to *al-djibb* in some Arab dialects of the peninsula, which in turn originated the Castilian word "algibe."¹¹

The royal city of Madinat al-Zahrā' near Córdoba founded by 'Abd al-Raḥmān III in 325 H./936 A.D. is famous today and will become more so in the future. The excavations there were begun in 1910. In a recent publication, Rafael Castejón records them from 1926 to 1936 and informs us that the excavations were started again in 1943.¹² During these years halls of some dwellings were excavated, probably belonging to some important persons connected with the court; and a house, which may have belonged to the chief of the guards and which furnishes valuable data about the domestic architecture of the tenth century. However, the most important excavations in this field of ruins, the complete exploration of which will take a long time, was made during the year of 1944. In this period

¹⁰ *Idem*, "Bóvedas romanas sobre arcos de resalto," *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, No. 64 (Madrid, 1946), 173-208.

¹¹ *Idem*, "Origen árabe de la palabra francesa 'ogive,'" *Al-Andalus*, VIII (1943), 475-82; G. S. Colin, "Origine arabe du mot français 'ogive,'" *Romania*, LXIII (1937), 377-81.

¹² R. Castejón y Martínez de Arízala, *Excavaciones del plan nacional en Medina Azahra (Córdoba), Campaña de 1943*, Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas, Informes y Memorias, No. 8 (Madrid, 1945); L. Torres Balbás, "Excavaciones en Madinat al-Zahrā' (1926-1936 y 1943)," *Al-Andalus*, XI (1946), 439-42.

a large hall was discovered which had three naves of arches resting on columns, rich with decorations cut in plates of stone. Parts of them are *in situ* but many fragments are lying around (*Figs. 6-9*).¹³ Pavement and socles are of marble. Several inscriptions name 'Abd al-Raḥmān III and give the date of 342 H./953-54 A.D. and 345 H./956-57 A.D., during which period this part of the palace seems to have been erected. The capitals, bases, and piers of marble and the stone decorations of the walls reveal great wealth, and once the fallen fragments are put back in their original places and the rest restored, the sumptuous halls of this legendary castle will provide a rich field for the study of the elaborate decorations which bear the traditions of Syria and Byzantium.

Ocaña Jiménez published a series of capitals that have inscriptions alluding to al-Ḥakam II and are dated between the years 362 H./972-73 A.D. and 364 H./974-75 A.D. and which have been distributed to various collections today.¹⁴ No doubt they belonged to the palace of Madinat al-Zahrā', and from their examination it may be deduced that during the first ten years of his reign, the work on the caliphal residence was of minor importance and did not get into full swing until after the year 360 H./970-71 A.D. It was continued at somewhat the same pace until 364 H./974-75 A.D.

Gaya Nuño¹⁵ dedicated a monograph to

¹³ R. Castejón, "Nuevas excavaciones en Madinat al-Zahrā': el salón de 'Abd al-Raḥmān III," *Al-Andalus*, X (1945), 147-54; Ocaña Jiménez, "Inscripciones árabes descubiertas en Madinat al-Zahrā' en 1944," *loc. cit.*, 154-59.

¹⁴ M. Ocaña Jiménez, "Obras de al-Ḥakam II en Madinat al-Zahrā'," *Al-Andalus*, VI (1941), 157-68.

¹⁵ J. A. Gaya Nuño, "Gormaz, castillo califal," *Al-Andalus*, VIII (1943), 431-50; M. Ocaña Jiménez, "Lápida árabe de la ermita de San Miguel de Gormaz (Soria)," *loc. cit.*, 450-52.

the castle of Gormaz (Soria), the most important fortress remaining from caliphal Spain. Situated on the banks of the river Duero, it occupied the top of a large ridge, where its still imposing remains lie. According to Maḳḳarī, it was rebuilt in 354 H./965-66 A.D. A fragment of an Arab slab, preserved nearby, refers to al-Ḥakam, since apparently it was he who ordered the erection of the fortress.

Bessie H. Weber¹⁶ dedicated a few pages to the Umayyad art of Spain. Compiled from previous publications, they lack interest. Among other errors, there is a wrong date for the end of the reign of the Umayyad dynasty.

After having cleaned off, between 1934 and 1946, the coating of the walls of the minaret which now serves as the bell tower of the church of San José at Granada, I was able to study it in some detail. It is a square tower of hewn stones which are alternately placed facing and sidewise. This arrangement reveals great precision and gives a rusticated effect. The comparison with other, similar constructions of Córdoba and Granada and a few historical references induced me to date this minaret of Granada between the second and fourth decade of the eleventh century.¹⁷ Some archeologists believe it to be older.

I published some notes on three other mosques, dating from before the twelfth century. One of them, rebuilt, later became the church of the castle of St. Mark at the port of Santa María (Cádiz). There remains the mihrab with a square base, covered by a ribbed vault (an *arc-de-cloître*) and with two diagonal projecting bands. It had three naves. According to the *Cantigas* written by Alphonse

the Wise,¹⁸ the Muslim oratory was rebuilt under the direction of the Moorish master Ali in order to remake it into a church in the second half of the thirteenth century. Thanks to ancient documents, dating from before its destruction during the eighteenth century, I was able to reconstruct the original layout of another mosque of the eleventh century, the main one of Granada, constructed between 407 H./1016-17 A.D. and 429 H./1038 A.D. It had eleven naves, the center one wider than the rest.¹⁹ Of the mosque of the Alcazaba of Badajoz there remains a plan made before its destruction during the nineteenth century. It had been converted into a church and rebuilt during the thirteenth century. It seems that it had five naves, the middle one wider than the others.²⁰

The existence of an Arab bridge at Guadalajara, which undoubtedly dates from before 1085, the year in which that city passed under Christian domination, was unknown. When I revealed its existence, I also alluded to other Muslim bridges in Spain.²¹

Recent discoveries in the Alcazaba of Málaga augmented our knowledge, which had previously been so meager, of the art under the rule of the "Taifas," the government formed after the fall of the Caliphate of Córdoba (*Figs. 13 and 15*). As a military edifice it is the most important of the Muslim Spanish types. It is probable that part of it dates from the ninth or tenth century, but it was rebuilt during the eleventh, and considerably reinforced from the thirteenth to the four-

¹⁸ *Idem*, "La Mezquita de al-Qanāṭir y el santuario de Alfonso el Sabio en el Puerto de Santa-María," *Al-Andalus*, VII (1942), 417-37.

¹⁹ *Idem*, "La Mezquita mayor de Granada," *Al-Andalus*, X (1945), 409-32.

²⁰ *Idem*, "La Mezquita de la alcazaba de Badajoz," *Al-Andalus*, VIII (1943), 466-70.

²¹ *Idem*, "El puente de Guadalajara," *Al-Andalus*, V (1940), 449-58.

¹⁶ B. H. Weber, "Mohammedan art in Spain during the Ommiad period: 756-1031," *The Moslem World*, XXXVI (1946), 46-53.

¹⁷ L. Torres Balbás, "El alminar de la iglesia de San José y las construcciones de los ziríes granadinos," *Al-Andalus*, VI (1941), 427-46.

teenth centuries. In its last and highest rampart, I found remnants of a palace which had decorations of plaster similar to those at Córdoba and to the ones at the Aljafería of Zaragoza, which was erected in the second half of the eleventh century.²²

In the Alcazaba of Málaga there was discovered a small group of suburban houses, probably dating from the twelfth century; however, only the lower parts of the walls remained. When I first mentioned these excavations, I drew special attention to the excellent city planning and to the perfection of all hygienic services. The drainage of polluted water was a problem admirably solved in Islamic Spain.²³

From an examination of several fragments of inscribed marbles at the Museum of the Alhambra of Granada and the one of the Alcazaba of Málaga, Ocaña was able to conclude that they belonged to socles of palaces of the twelfth century.²⁴

Knowledge of Spanish Muslim military architecture is almost nonexistent, although a great number of ruins and fortresses of this period are still surviving. I wrote a few pages, accompanied by plans, about the Almohade Alcazaba of Badajoz, which dates from the second half of the twelfth century, and I stressed its importance therein.²⁵

A note on watch towers, that is to say those towers that are outside the walled enclosures, much used in the Almohade architecture and later on taken up by the Mudéjar, completes these pages. Their name "albar-

rranas" comes from the Arabic *barrānī* which means exterior or outside.²⁶

We owe to Hernández Díaz, Sancho Corbacho, and Collantes de Terán the publication of a monograph on the castle of Alcalá de Guadaira, the most important one of the district around Seville, reconstructed to a large extent during the Christian era but which preserved previous plans. The same monograph contains plans, photographs, and a description of the Almohade mosque of Cuatrohabetan which was preserved in a clearing of the province of Seville near Bollullos de la Mitación. It may have belonged to a village which disappeared. It still has the minaret as well as three naves separated by horseshoe arches supported by brick piers.²⁷

With the pretext of publishing an old reproduction of the great minaret of the main Almohade mosque of Seville known since the sixteenth century as the Giralda, I collected all preserved data regarding its construction and compared it to the minarets of the Kutubiya of Marrakesh and the tower of Hasan of Rabat, the three being almost contemporary. The one of Seville was started around 580 H./1184 A.D. and was finished in 594 H./1198 A.D. when the pinnacle balls of the *djāmūr* were placed in position.²⁸

The grouping of some known names of Andalusian architects of the Almoravide and Almohade periods who worked in Africa proves the influence exercised by the Spanish

²² *Idem*, "Excavaciones y obras en la alcazaba de Málaga (1934-1943)," *Al-Andalus*, IX (1944), 173-90.

²³ *Idem*, "El barrio de casas de la alcazaba malagueña," *Al-Andalus*, X (1945), 396-409.

²⁴ M. Ocaña Jiménez, "Zócalos hispanomusulmanes del siglo XII," *Al-Andalus*, X (1945), 164-69.

²⁵ L. Torres Balbás, "La alcazaba almohade de Badajoz," *Al-Andalus*, VI (1941), 168-203.

²⁶ E. Tormo, "El problema de las torres albaranas," *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, XLIX (Madrid, 1941), 139-42; L. Torres Balbás, "Las torres albarranas," *Al-Andalus*, VII (1942), 216-19.

²⁷ J. Hernández Díaz, A. Sancho Corbacho and F. Collantes de Terán, *Catálogo arqueológico y artístico de la provincia de Sevilla*, I (A.B.) (Sevilla, 1939), 62-70 and 219-24.

²⁸ L. Torres Balbás, "Reproducciones de la Giralda anteriores a su reforma en el siglo XVI," *Al-Andalus*, VI (1941), 216-29.

architecture on the northern part of that continent.²⁹

I thought it useful to assemble all the data referring to the Alhambra of Granada which existed prior to the thirteenth century when the Naṣrid reign was formed. I also added the information, known for a long time, that figures in the memoirs of 'Abd Allāh and which was recently published by Lévi-Provençal. From these memoirs it may be deduced that

It had a courtyard with a pool in the center, and on one of the smaller sides a portico of three arches facing south. The rooms have painted socles decorated with beautiful interlacings (*Figs. 1 and 2*). In the same place there are still buried the ruins of a suburb, deserted since the middle of the fourteenth century.³¹

Don Carlos Sarthou Carreras described briefly the wooden framework that covered

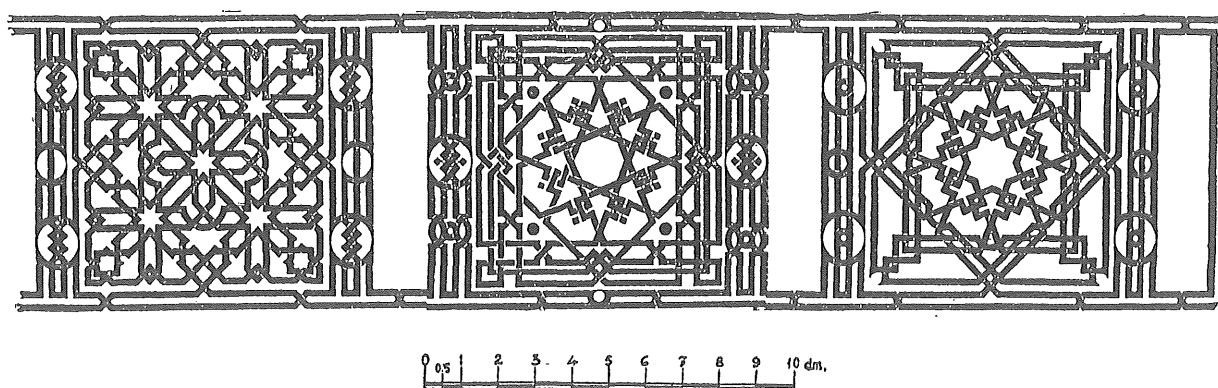


FIG. 1—ALMERÍA, PAINTED DADO DECORATION, TWELFTH CENTURY?

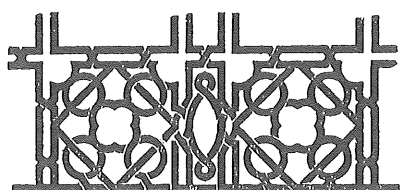


FIG. 2—ALMERÍA, PAINTED DADO DECORATION, TWELFTH CENTURY?

the Alhambra, prior to the thirteenth century, contrary to Dozy's supposition was a small fortress and did not as yet contain a palace or feudal residence of any importance.³⁰

While excavating a house in Almería, the foundations of a house of the Muslim period, probably of the twelfth century, came to light.

²⁹ T. B., "Arquitectos andaluces de las épocas almorávide y almohade," *Al-Andalus*, XI (1946), 214-24.

³⁰ L. Torres Balbás, "La Alhambra de Granada antes del siglo XIII," *Al-Andalus*, V (1940), 155-74.

a room of the palace of Pino Hermoso at Játiva (Valencia) and the decorations cut in plaster on the entrance door. They seem to be from the first half of the thirteenth century. In 1931 they were moved to the Municipal Museum of that city.³²

Of the Alhambra of Granada, the restoration of which I directed from 1923 to 1936, I published information and plans of the Royal mosque (destroyed), as well as of the adjoining bathhouse (*Fig. 10*),³³ a small oratory in

³¹ R., "Restos de una casa árabe en Almería," *Al-Andalus*, X (1945), 170-77.

³² Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Dirección General de Bellas Artes, Inspección General de Museos Arqueológicos, *Memorias de los Museos Arqueológicos Provinciales* (Extractos), VI, 1945 (Madrid, 1946), 198-99.

³³ L. Torres Balbás, "La Mezquita real de la Alhambra y el baño frontero," *Al-Andalus* X (1945), 196-214.

the gardens (*Fig. 11*)³⁴ and the dungeons that still exist.³⁵ J. Bermúdez Pareja, director of the Archeological Museum of the Alhambra, is the author of some notes on the vicissitudes of the most important pieces of the collection under his charge.³⁶

In the publications dedicated to gardens, the authenticity of the remaining Arab sections of the celebrated gardens of the Generalife of Granada has not been properly established. I tried to clarify this matter with the help of ancient testimonies.³⁷

In short monographs I described other Naṣrid monuments of the fourteenth century: the Māristān of Granada demolished during the nineteenth century, but of which there still exist plans and drawings;³⁸ and a *funduk*, now called the Corral del Carbón which I restored more than twenty years ago (*Figs. 3 and 4*),³⁹ and finally I discussed the edifice called in Spanish "atarazanas" from the Arabic *dār al-ṣanā'a* (arsenal) and enumerated those that existed in the Middle Ages and described in particular the one of Málaga that collapsed during the last century.⁴⁰ The *funduk* as well as the *dār al-ṣanā'a* stem from buildings of the

Imperial Roman period, the importance of which as a source of medieval architecture is becoming more and more recognized.

The bathhouse is a type of Muslim construction that has survived frequently in Spain. I have already referred to one at Granada, and further on descriptions of the baths at Ronda and Gibraltar are mentioned. The baths at Valencia⁴¹ as well as another one discovered at Córdoba⁴² were the subject of recent articles.

In a few pages I catalogued the still preserved minarets of Spanish mosques, describing their characteristics and mentioning proportions of some of them.⁴³

At Ronda (Málaga) there are still remains contemporary to the reign of Granada which I discussed in *Al-Andalus*; that is to say, fortifications, a bathhouse, a minaret, the remains of a mosque, and some dwellings (*Fig. 12*). In the same journal I also dealt with a bathhouse, walls, and a large tower—all of the fourteenth century—which are still to be found in Gibraltar.⁴⁴ In these two articles as well as in the aforementioned study on Badajoz I tried, after a short historical synopsis, to collect all historical mementoes that are still preserved, both documentary and archeological.

³⁴ *Idem*, "El oratorio y la casa de Astasio de Bracamonte en el Partal de la Alhambra," *Al-Andalus*, X (1945), 440-49.

³⁵ *Idem*, "Las mazmorras de la Alhambra," *Al-Andalus*, IX (1944), 190-218.

³⁶ J. Bermúdez Pareja, "El Museo Arqueológico de la Alhambra," *Memorias de los Museos Arqueológicos Provinciales*, 1942 (Madrid, 1943), 47-53; T. B., "El Museo Arqueológico de la Alhambra," *Al-Andalus*, IX (1944), 236-41.

³⁷ L. Torres Balbás, "Con motivo de unos planos del Generalife de Granada," *Al-Andalus*, IV (1939), 436-45.

³⁸ *Idem*, "El Māristān de Granada," *Al-Andalus*, IX (1944), 481-98.

³⁹ *Idem*, "Las alhóndigas hispanomusulmanas y el Corral del Carbón de Granada," *Al-Andalus*, XI (1946), 447-80.

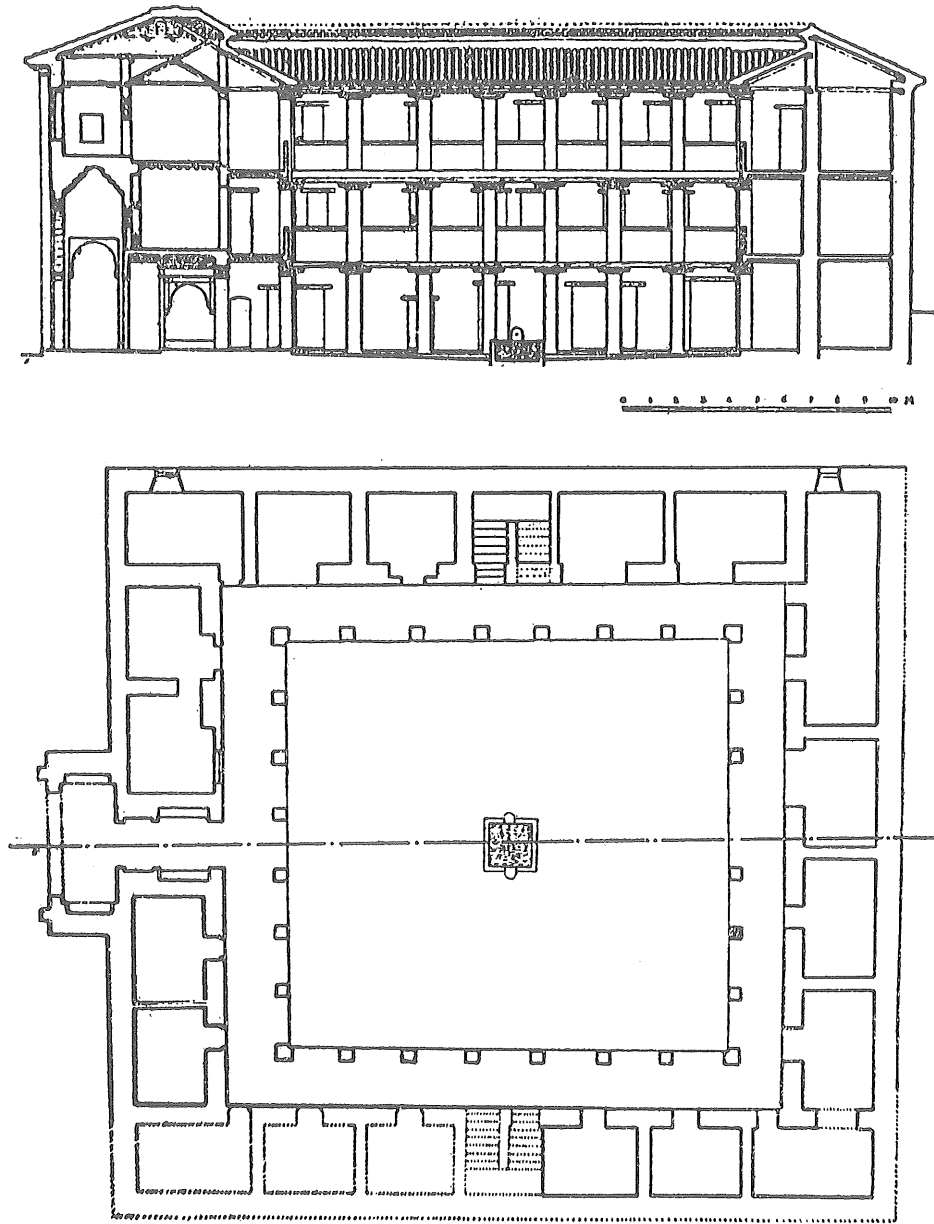
⁴⁰ *Idem*, "Atarazanas hispanomusulmanas," *Al-Andalus*, XI (1946), 175-209.

⁴¹ E. Tormo, "Los baños árabes del Almirante, en Valencia"; el Barón de San Petrillo, Cortina arqu^{to}, "Copia del informe de una ponencia de la Academia de San Carlos sobre la casa y los baños del Almirante de Valencia," *Boletín Real de la Real Academia de la Historia*, CXIII (Madrid, 1943), 241-48 and 415-20.

⁴² D. Angulo, "Baños árabes de la Pescadería de Córdoba," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, CXVII (Madrid, 1945), 53-55.

⁴³ L. Torres Balbás, "Alminares hispanomusulmanes," *Cuadernos de Arte*, IV-VI (1939-1941), 59-90 (Facultad de Letras de Granada).

⁴⁴ *Idem*, "La acrópolis musulmana de Ronda," *Al-Andalus*, IX (1944), 449-81; "Gibraltar, llave y guarda del reino de España," *Al-Andalus*, VII (1942), 168-216.



FIGS. 3 AND 4—GRANADA. "CORRAL DEL CARBÓN,"
SECTION AND PLAN

In the pages of a review dedicated to municipal studies, I analyzed the urban organization of a Spanish Islamic city and described its houses and streets as well as the transformation they underwent after having passed under Christian rule, particularly during the sixteenth century when the Renaissance was triumphant.⁴⁵

Included in this group is a paper about the comparison (frequent in Muslim literature) of the cities of Damascus and Granada and the reason for this comparison.⁴⁶ There is also an article in which various aspects of Muslim Seville are described, such as bathhouses and dwellings.⁴⁷

Architectural Decoration: Sculpture in Stone and Marble

Camón Aznar published some short notes on the decorations of the palace of the Aljafería of Zaragoza, erected during the second half of the eleventh century.⁴⁸

For the study of the Almohade decorations in Spain the sepulchral stele—"mqābriya"—of Málaga, dated 618 H./1221 A.D., is of importance. It was described by Ocaña.⁴⁹

I mentioned before the marble socles with inscriptions that decorated the Spanish Muslim palaces of the twelfth century. At the

end of that century painted ones of the most ingenious and complicated interlacing designs were beginning to be used, some of the most beautiful examples with floral motifs being in the Alhambra. I listed the preserved examples of painted socles,⁵⁰ but those that have since appeared at Almería will have to be added.

Besides the Spanish Muslim capitals of Madīnat al-Zahrā' already mentioned, Manuel Gómez-Moreno and Manuel Ocaña Jiménez described some Spanish Muslim capitals, the dates of which were verified.⁵¹ The four of the mihrab of the mosque of Córdoba are of 'Abd al-Rahmān II's reign as well as several others from the enlargement of that oratory. The capitals of the ninth century have a molded abacus in contrast to those of the following century which are plain. There is one dated 320 H./932 A.D. at the Alcázar of Seville; another one of the same date was at the Berlin Museum. There are also capitals of the years 340 H./951-52 A.D. (whereabouts unknown); 342 H./953-54 A.D. (at the Alcázar of Seville); and 348 H./959-60 A.D. (whereabouts unknown). They belong to the reign of 'Abd al-Rahmān III. Of his son al-Hakam II's reign, there are two others, dated respectively 353 H./954-55 A.D. (made for the Alcázar of Córdoba) and 363 H./973-74 A.D. (at Granada). At the Archeological Museum of Toledo there is a capital of the eleventh century, carrying the name of the monarch of that city, al-Ma'mūn, and the date 453 H./1061 A.D.

Another capital that belonged to the palace of the Aljafería of Zaragoza and is pre-

⁴⁵ *Idem*, "Las ciudades hispanomusulmanas y su urbanización," *Revista de Estudios de la Vida Local*, I (Madrid, 1942), 59-80.

⁴⁶ T. B., "Damasco y Granada," *Al-Andalus*, VI (1941), 461-69.

⁴⁷ *Idem*, "Notas sobre Sevilla en la época musulmana: los baños, las casas, los alcázares de la Buḥayra," *Al-Andalus*, X (1945), 177-96.

⁴⁸ J. Camón Aznar, "Los motivos ornamentales de la Aljafería," *Universidad*, XIX (Zaragoza, 1942), 1-8.

⁴⁹ M. Ocaña Jiménez, "Una 'mqābriya' almohade malagueña del año 1221 J.C.," *Al-Andalus*, XI (1946), 224-30; *idem*, "Nuevos datos sobre la 'mqābriya' almohade malagueña del año 1227 J.C.," *loc. cit.*, 445-46.

⁵⁰ L. Torres Balbás, "Los zócalos pintados en la arquitectura hispanomusulmana," *Al-Andalus*, VII (1942), 395-417.

⁵¹ M. Ocaña Jiménez, "Capiteles fechados del siglo X," *Al-Andalus*, V (1940), 437-49; M. Gómez-Moreno, "Capiteles árabes documentados," *Al-Andalus*, VI (1941), 422-27.

served at the Archeological Museum of Madrid has an inscription containing the name of king Abū Dja'far who ruled from 441 H./1049 A.D. to 474 H./1061 A.D. Dubler has published a capital, previously unknown, which is now in the Museum of Gerona and which is made of marble with a double row of plain acanthus leaves and with elephant heads at the corners.⁵² It is probably of the eleventh century.

The contention that the Muslims did not represent living beings in the decoration of their edifices is slowly disappearing. In some Umayyad palaces of Syria, sculptures in high relief representing human figures have been encountered. With new finds, the use of animals in sculptural decorations becomes more prevalent in Islamic Spain, particularly during the period of Almanzor (the last years of the tenth century and the first of the eleventh), when some of the best-known examples were made. Their importance is great even with regard to the history of origins of Romanesque sculpture, some of which strangely resemble their Islamic prototypes. Rafael Castejón has collected and published some of the most important examples of these sculptures representing living beings of the tenth and eleventh centuries (*Fig. 14*).⁵³

On the other hand two marble fonts recently studied are undecorated. One of them serves as a baptismal font at the church of Santo Domingo of Jaca (Huesca), and seems to be a work of the tenth century.⁵⁴ Of a some-

what later date, probably the eleventh century and Almoravide period, is another font which bears an inscription and is now preserved at the Archeological Museum of Córdoba.⁵⁵

Industrial and decorative arts

José Ferrandis's publication on the Spanish Muslim ivories is an important work. The first volume, containing ivories of the tenth and eleventh centuries was published in 1935 (*Fig. 19*); the second deals with those from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. These later ivories are less known and the classification is more complex because of the difficulty in localizing many of them. The two volumes constitute an excellent catalog. The last chapter of the second one is devoted to ivory intarsia.⁵⁶ Ferrandis, in another publication, described Spanish Arab furniture made in this technique, namely of inlaying into the wood pieces of the same material or of ivory, either in the natural color or dyed. The most outstanding work of this art are mimbars. Ferrandis listed and reproduced a series of boxes and chests of marquetry, most of them having been preserved in Spanish churches.⁵⁷

An extremely rare piece of great historical and archeological value, previously unknown, was revealed by Gómez-Moreno. It is the sceptre of the Naşrid kings of Granada (*Figs. 20-26*). It was later used as a staff by Cardinal Cisneros and is today displayed at a convent of Alcalá de Henares. Its material is ebony with inlays of bone combined with other woods, probably cedar, and is probably the

⁵² C. E. Dubler and R., "Capitel musulman del Museo Arqueológico de Gerona," *Al-Andalus*, X (1945), 161-64.

⁵³ R. Castejón, "La nueva pila de Almiría y las representaciones zoomórficas califales," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes de Córdoba*, XVI, 1945 (Córdoba, 1946), 197-211.

⁵⁴ J. Camón Aznar, "Restos del siglo XI en la iglesia de Santo Domingo de Jaca," *Archivo Español de Arte*, n° 50 (Madrid, 1942), 112-13.

⁵⁵ M. Ocaña Jiménez, "La pila de abluciones del museo de Córdoba," *Al-Andalus*, VI (1941), 446-511.

⁵⁶ J. Ferrandis Torres, *Marfiles hispanomusulmanes*, I (Madrid, 1935); II (Madrid, 1940).

⁵⁷ *Idem*, "Muebles hispano árabes de taracea," *Al-Andalus*, V (1940), 459-65.

only Muslim ebony work preserved in the Occident.⁵⁸

The beautiful swords of Granada of the Naṣrids or of Naṣrid tradition called "de la jineta" were the subject of a study by Professor Ferrandis. There are eleven samples preserved. He mentions, in addition, three ivory hilts, a bronze pommel, the rapier of Boabdil, and a small dagger.⁵⁹

Recently a cast bronze stag was found at Córdoba (Fig. 17). On the gilding that

peacock in the Louvre of Paris, are certainly examples of Spanish workmanship, according to the opinions of Camps Cazorla.⁶⁰

Also made of bronze are a small jug and the handle of a cauldron, which have been added to the collection of the Archeological Museum of Córdoba (Fig. 5). The jug is 10 cm. high and its neck is formed like the head of a bird. The handle is circular and three of its sides are engraved with a burin.⁶¹

Manuel Gómez-Moreno has published the

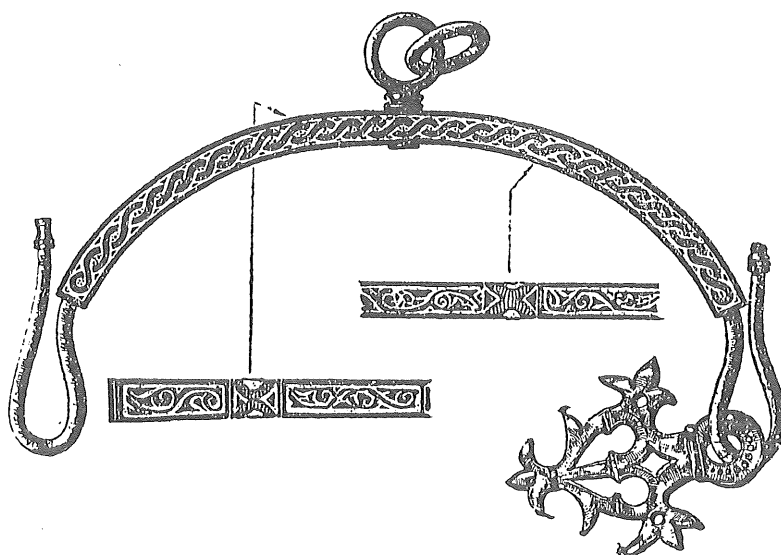


FIG. 5—HANDLE OF A BRONZE CAULDRON. CÓRDOBA, ARCHEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

covers it, there is, worked with a burin, an engraved decoration representing wide curved stems, forming a series of circles with caliphal flower motifs in their interior. This piece that may have served as spout on the font in some palace, together with the other stag now in the Museum of Córdoba, and the royal

section of the inventory of Isabel, the Catholic Queen, that refers to various Arab jewelry.⁶²

The rock crystal chessmen carved in Fatimid style which were at the church of Ager (Lérida) and later in the possession of the

⁵⁸ M. Gómez-Moreno, "El bastón del Cardenal Cisneros," *Al-Andalus*, V (1940), 192-95; E. Varela Hervias, "Más sobre el bastón del Cardenal Cisneros," *loc. cit.*, 467-68.

⁵⁹ J. Ferrandis Torres, "Espadas granadinas de la jineta," *Archivo Español de Arte*, n° 57 (Madrid, 1943), 142-66.

⁶⁰ E. Camps Cazorla, "Un 'ciervo' califal de bronce," *Archivo Español de Arte*, n° 58 (Madrid, 1943), 212-22; T. B., "Un nuevo ciervo califal de bronce," *Al-Andalus*, IX (1944), 167-71.

⁶¹ S. de los Santos Jener, "Nuevos bronce hispanomusulmanes del Museo de Córdoba," *Al-Andalus*, VII (1942), 165-68.

⁶² M. Gómez-Moreno, "Joyas árabes de la Reina Católica," *Al-Andalus*, VIII (1943), 473-75.

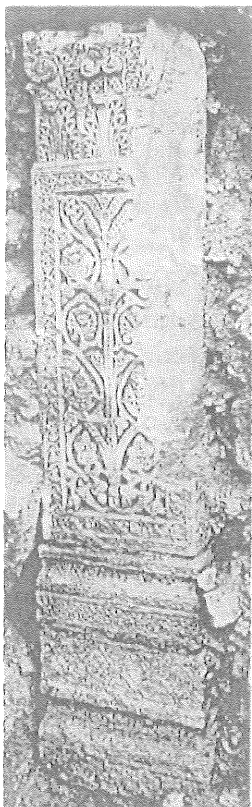


FIG. 6—PILASTER, HALL OF
'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN III



FIG. 7—DETAIL OF FIG. 6

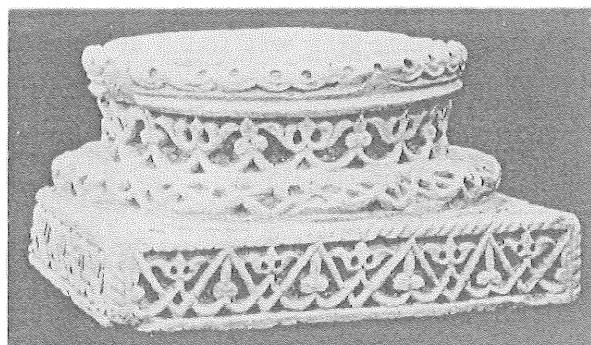


FIG. 8—MARBLE BASE

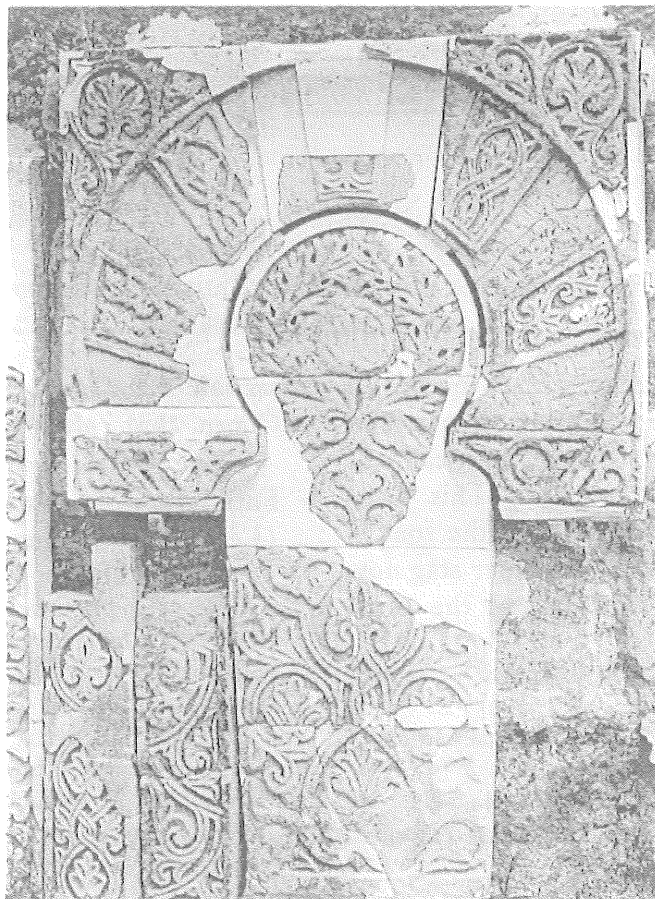


FIG. 9—ARCH

FIGS. 6-9—MADĪNAT AL-ZAHRĀ'

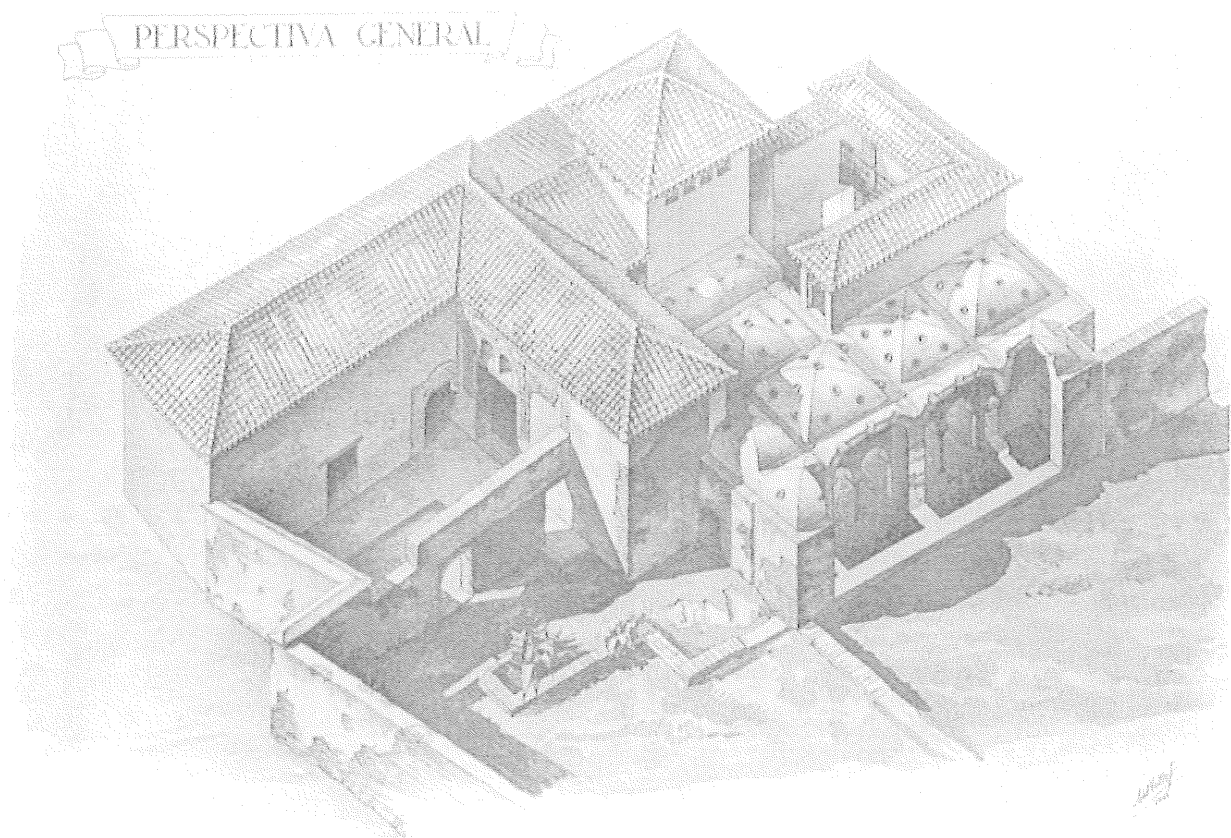


FIG. 10—ALHAMBRA, BATH HOUSE



FIG. 11—ALHAMBRA, SMALL ORATORIO

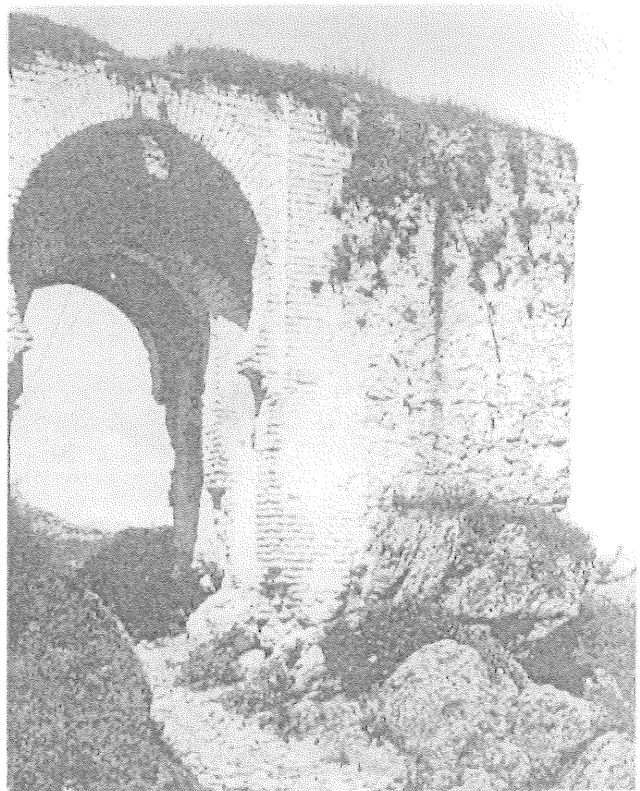


FIG. 12—RONDA, PUERTA DE LOS MOLINOS,
THIRTEENTH TO FOURTEENTH CENTURY

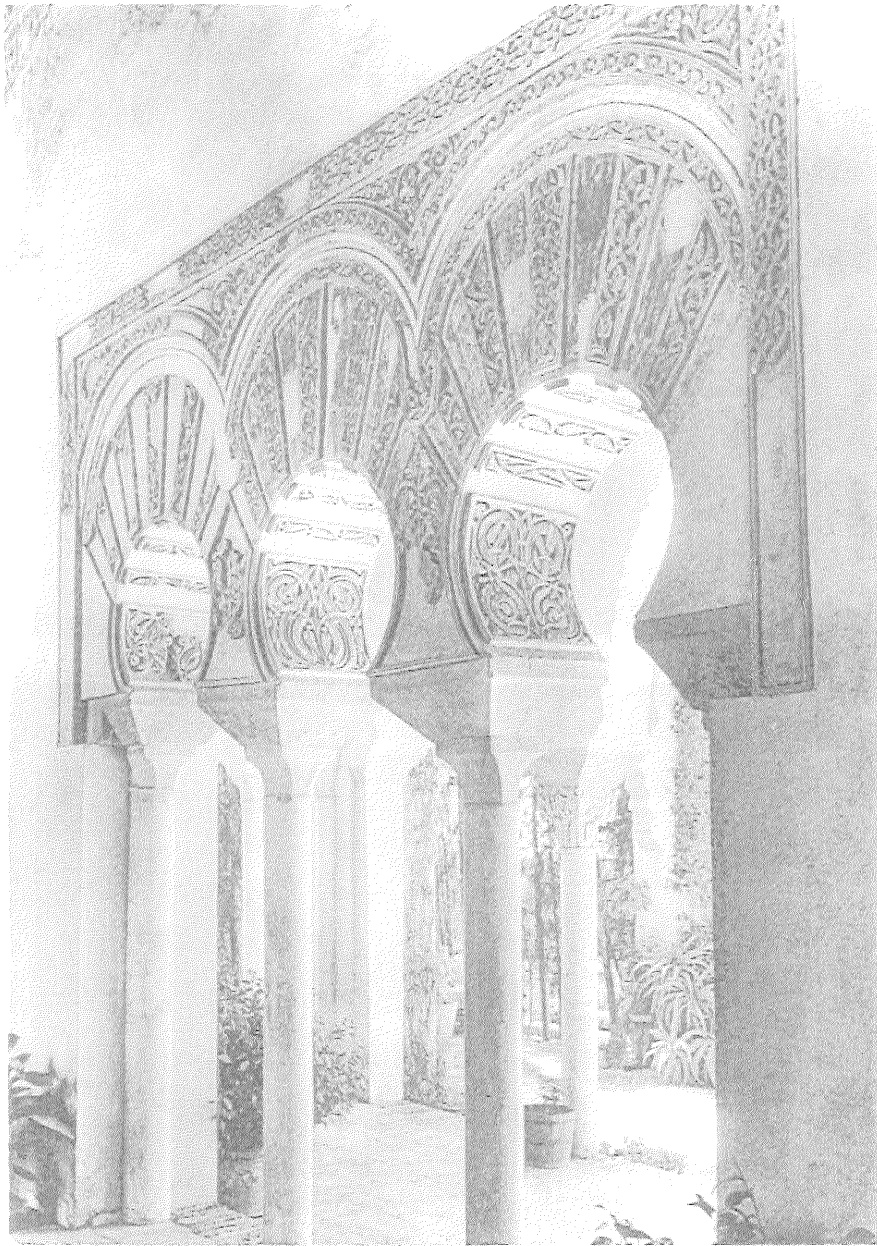


FIG. 13—MALAGA, ALCAZABA, ARCHES—ELEVENTH CENTURY

PHOTOGRAPH MAS

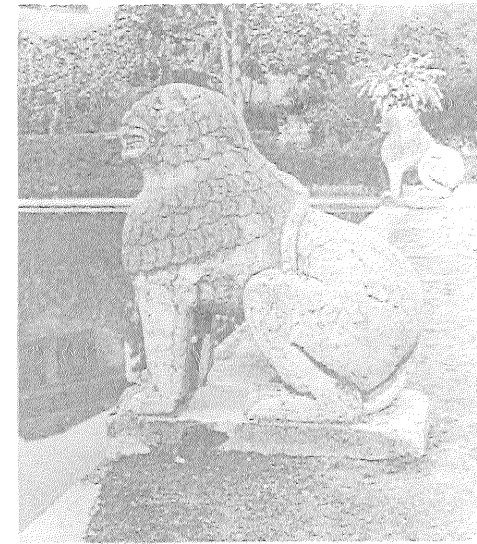


FIG. 14—ALHAMBRA, LIONS IN THE MÄRISTĀN

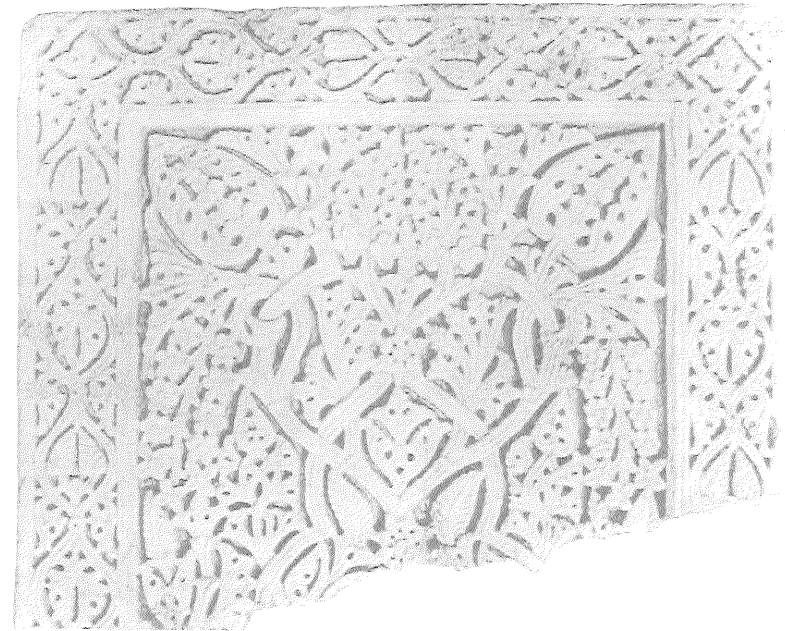
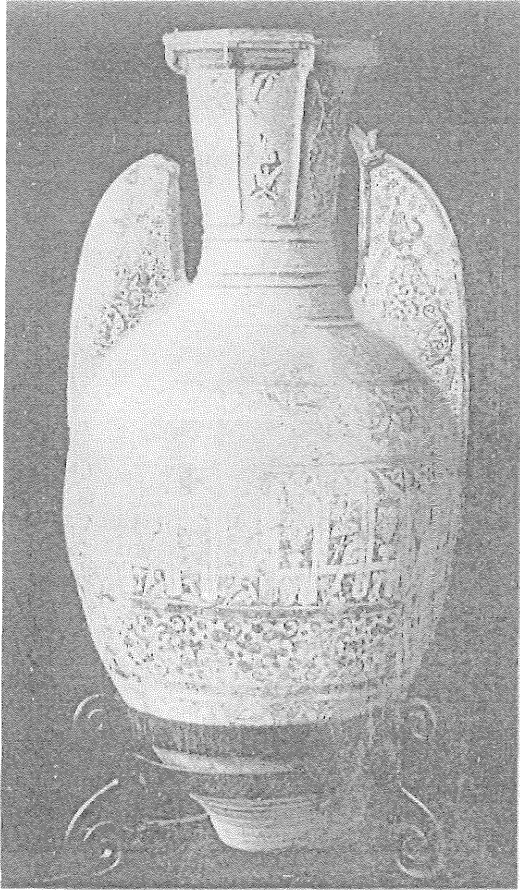


FIG. 15—MALAGA, ALCAZABA, MARBLE DECORATION



PHOTOGRAPH MAS

FIG. 16—LUSTER VASE, FOURTEENTH CENTURY

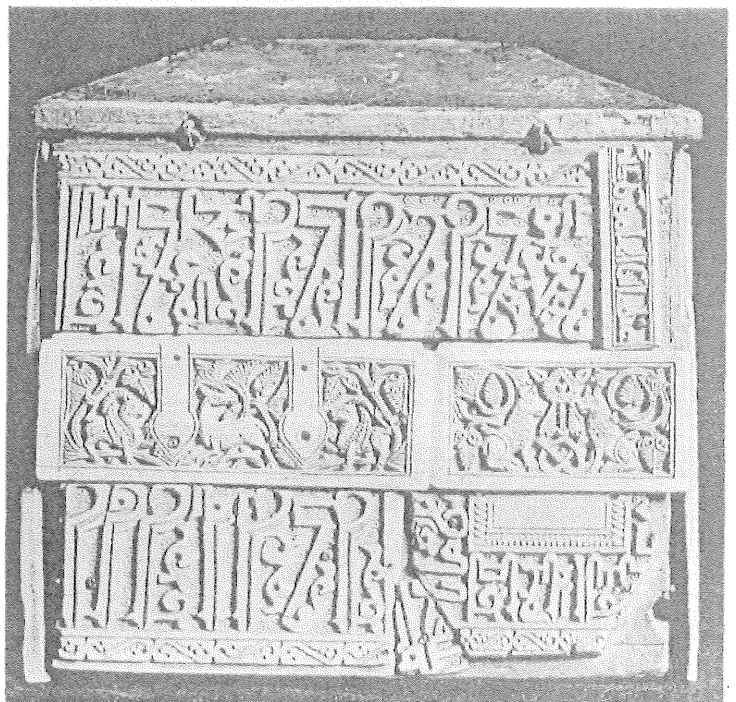


FIG. 17—GILDED BRONZE STAG FROM CORDOBA



PHOTOGRAPH MAS

FIG. 18—DETAIL OF FIG. 16



PHOTOGRAPH MAS

FIG. 19—IVORY CHEST FROM SAN ISIDORO DE LEÓN, ELEVENTH CENTURY

FIGS. 16-19—OBJECTS IN THE MUSEO ARQUEOLÓGICO NACIONAL, MADRID

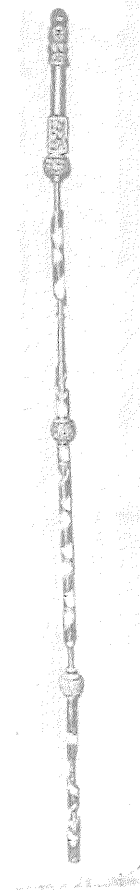


FIG. 20

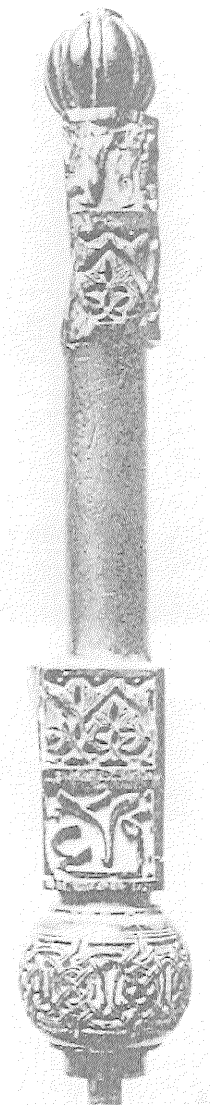


FIG. 21



FIG. 22



FIG. 23

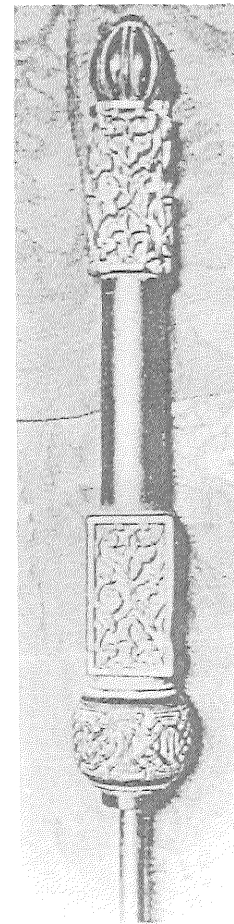


FIG. 24

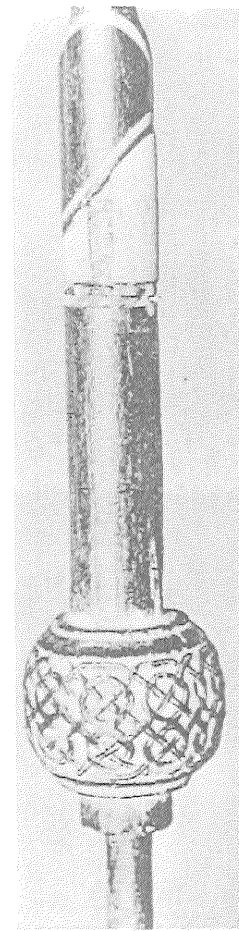


FIG. 25

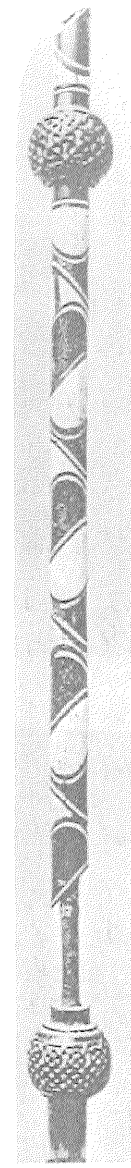


FIG. 26

FIGS. 20-26—SCEPTRE OF NAṢRID KINGS, FULL VIEW AND DETAILS

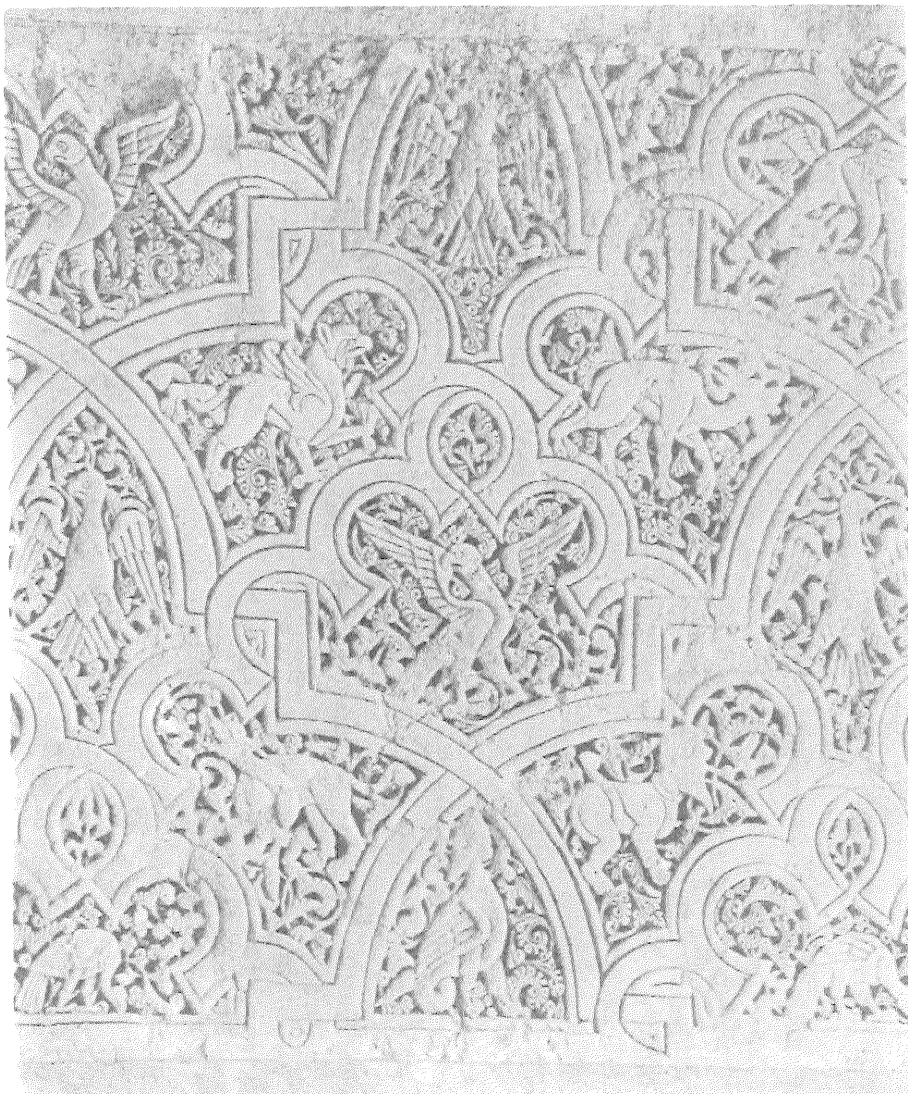


FIG. 27

PHOTOGRAPH MORENO

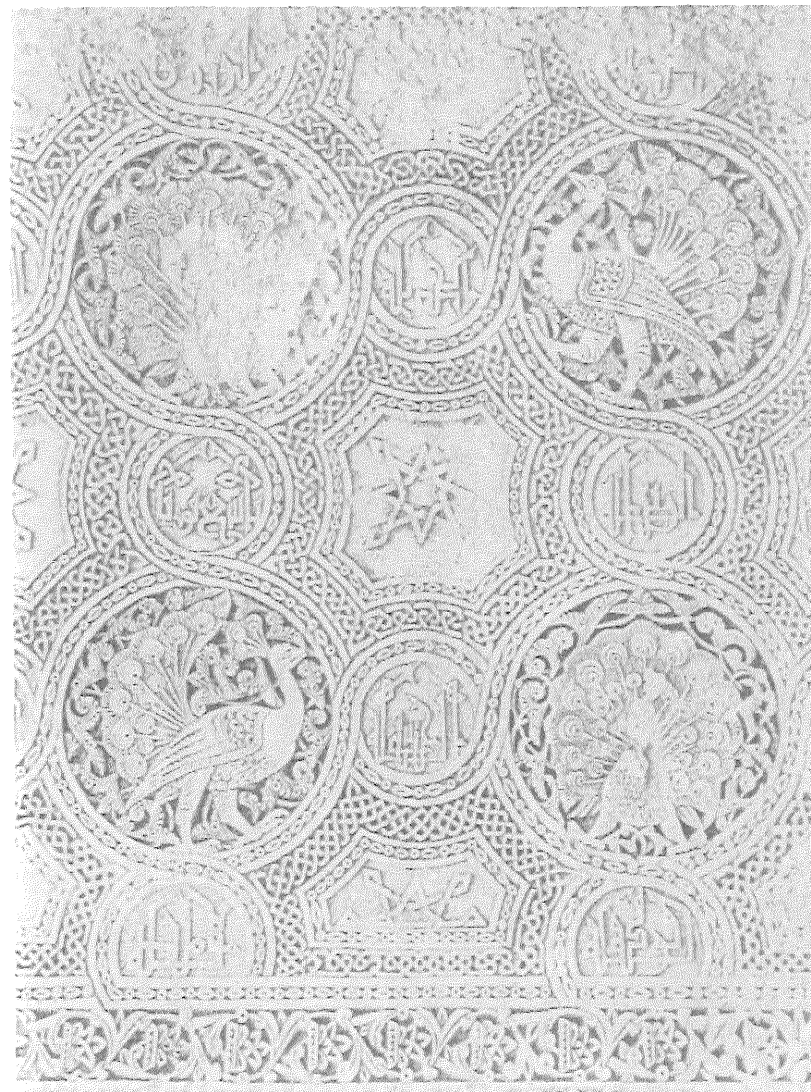


FIG. 28

PHOTOGRAPH MORENO

FIGS. 27 AND 28—STUCCO DECORATIONS, THIRTEENTH CENTURY, BURGOS, CONVENT OF LAS HUELGAS

Countess of Béhague at Paris—with the exception of one that is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and those preserved in the monastery of Celanova (Orense)—have been studied by Camón Aznar.⁶³

We owe it to Guerrero Lovillo that he noticed the similarity of the lamps reproduced in the miniatures of the *Cantigas* of Alphonse the Wise to some Muslim oriental ones of glass of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁶⁴

The caliphal ceramics of the tenth century of which there exist abundant examples, found mostly at Madinat al-Zahrā', have not yet been the subject of any publication. A brief notice concerning those which came from Elvira (Madinat Ilbira), in the Archeological Museum of Granada, was published by the director, Joaquín Eguaras.⁶⁵ There has not yet been any publication on those of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, which were found at the Alhambra of Granada, at the Alcazaba of Málaga, and at various other places.

The primitive gold luster ware of Málaga has been described by Gómez-Moreno from the few remaining fragments found in this fortress among the ruined dwellings of the twelfth century. The author refers to the Oriental influences which led to the importation of gold luster ware into Spain during the tenth century and to various pieces found in

the Iberian peninsula. He also discussed the luster technique and he believes that the fragments found at Málaga were manufactured in that same city. They also have an extraordinary resemblance to the famous *bacini* inlaid in some church spires of northern Italy, the origin of which is unknown. He further deals with other luster fragments in relief and made in a mold, which he attributes to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the thirteenth century we find a second period for this class of luster ware.⁶⁶

I dealt with the large and exceptionally important "Alhambra vases" in an incidental manner when I published a notice on the vase decorated entirely with gold luster, which turned up unexpectedly in 1927 in Jerez de la Frontera (Cádiz), and which is now in the Archeological Museum of Madrid (*Figs. 16 and 18*). The Alhambra of Granada acquired through purchase another such vase of which only the gold decoration on the neck is still well preserved. This piece, in addition to the one which is now in the Ermitage of Leningrad, had formerly belonged to the collection of the painter Fortuny. Another of these vases which have returned to Spain and which had been sent by Raoul Heilbrunner to the exposition of Muslim art in Munich in 1910, was destroyed in the fire of the custom-house of Irun in July of 1936.⁶⁷

In the same article I presented information about the discovery of thirty-five Muslim Granadian *azulejos* of the fourteenth century in the chapel of San Bartolomé of Córdoba. These tiles (now kept in the Archeological Museum of the same city) are molded in relief and decorated in blue and gold; they deserve to be better known. We owe to E.

⁶³ J. Camón Aznar, "Las piezas de cristal de roca y arte fátimí encontradas en España: lote del monasterio de Celanova," *Al-Andalus*, IV (1939), 396-405.

⁶⁴ J. Guerrero Lovillo, "Las lámparas de las 'Cantigas,'" *Archivo Español de Arte*, n° 63 (Madrid, 1944), 148-70.

⁶⁵ J. Eguaras Ibañez, "La cerámica de Elvira," Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Dirección General de Bellas Artes, Inspección General de Museos Arqueológicos, *Memorias de los Museos Arqueológicos Provinciales* (Extractos), VI, 1945 (Madrid, 1946), 73-77.

⁶⁶ M. Gómez-Moreno, "La loza dorada primitiva de Málaga," *Al-Andalus*, V (1940), 383-98.

⁶⁷ L. Torres Balbás, "De cerámica hispanomusulmana," *Al-Andalus*, IV (1939), 412-32.

Kühnel an interesting paper about the fragments of the Hispano-Moresque luster ware found during excavations in the Near East; they are almost always of the luster type of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They were exported from Málaga and Manises (Valencia) to Egypt, where they were much appreciated, as well as to Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor, and Turkey.⁶⁸

For knowledge of Spanish Muslim fabrics of the thirteenth century, the exploration of the royal cemetery of the monastery of Las Huelgas of Burgos was of extraordinary importance. Save for one, all the thirty-five sepulchres had been opened upon previous occasions and despoiled of parts of their funereal apparel. Nevertheless they afford a splendid collection of Arab and Mudéjar fabrics as well as several other objects, which attest to the craftsmanship and perfection of the Spanish looms of the thirteenth century. Among the former, there are beautiful rich brocades and tapestries of silk and gold, some with a design forming large wheels with pairs of lions and Kufic lettering. Their manufacture is doubtlessly Arab-Andalusian and has no similarity to the known Naşrid textiles, though quite like some Oriental ones. They will continue to be exhibited at the same monastery. Gómez-Moreno has studied and published them with his usual competency.⁶⁹

Another textile of the same period has been found in a sepulchre at Valladolid. It is of colored silk with cursive Arab script. It also belonged to a person of the royal family.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ E. Kühnel, "Loza hispanoárabe excavada en Oriente," *Al-Andalus*, VII (1942), 253-68.

⁶⁹ M. Gómez-Moreno, *El Panteón Real de las Huelgas de Burgos* (Madrid, 1946).

⁷⁰ S. Rivera Manescau, "Una urna sepulcral y unos tejidos del Museo Arqueológico de Valladolid," Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Dirección General de Bellas Artes Inspección, *Memorias de los Museos Arqueológicos Provinciales* (Extractos), V, 1944 (Madrid, 1945), 150 and 154-55.

This, as well as the previous finds, together with older ones, show the esteem in which the Arab textiles of Andalusia were held in Christian Spain; they served not only as garments for persons of high social position but were also used in wrapping the wooden coffins that contain their mortal remains.

In the spring of 1943 the Sociedad Española del Amigos de Arte, which has done so much for the recognition of ancient Spanish art, organized an exhibition of leather craft, an artistic industrial art which, according to early manuscripts, had flourished on the Peninsula since the eighth century and which continued until the end of the seventeenth century. Also exhibited were Arab samples of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The guide book was edited by Ferrandis, who treated the subject in detail in an academic discourse, adding interesting technical notes.⁷¹ The various applications of this industry embrace everything from the decoration of walls and floors to small domestic articles. Thanks to these publications it will be easy from now on to formulate a more complete picture of an art that had great importance in Spain for several centuries and which has now become almost entirely forgotten.

II. MUDÉJAR ART

The Muslim art of Spain originated in the Orient but upon reaching the Iberian Peninsula it developed definite and distinguishing characteristics when it came into intimate contact with Western Christian art on the same soil. While Christian art had very little influence on the art of Islam, the inverse influence of the latter was extraordinarily fecund, manifesting itself in a new mixed art which

⁷¹ Sociedad Española del Amigos de Arte, *Exposición de cordobanes y guadamecés*, Catálogo-guia, Madrid, 1943; (*Guadamecés*) Real Academia de Bellas Artes, *Discurso leído por el Ilmo. Sr. Don José Ferrandis Torres* (Madrid, 1945).

is characteristic of Spain. From the twelfth century to the seventeenth, influences and repercussions of Muslim culture may be encountered all over the peninsula, touching every field of artistic production from such notable architectural creations as the cathedral of Toledo and the monastery of Las Huelgas of Burgos to crafts of the most humble and common origin. Altogether these various works form the extremely complex Mudéjar art which has no definite style owing to its enormous variety and to the lack of unity of the creations of this period. In the following paragraphs, let us see how the study of this era has progressed.

Architecture and Archeological Decoration

We owe to the French Hispanist Lambert two monographs on several French churches which were near the Pyrenees and on the road followed by the pilgrims during the Middle Ages who were on their way to Santiago de Compostela. One of the monographs dealt with the church of the Hospital of St. Blaise which was erected during the last years of the twelfth century or the first of the thirteenth. The center of the crossing of nave and transept is surmounted by a cupola on crossed arches which leaves an open space in the center. The outline of the opening is the same as another in the mosque Cristo de la Luz of Toledo, erected about 1000 A.D. Other elements of the architecture and decoration of this French church also stem from Spanish Muslim art. An almost identical cupola may be observed near Santa Cruz de Oloron, another of the stations on one of the roads to Compostela.⁷²

⁷² E. Lambert, "L'Hôpital Saint-Blaise et son église hispanomauresque," *Al-Andalus*, V (1940), 179-87; *idem*, "L'Hôpital Saint-Blaise," *Congrès archéologique de France*, CII^e session tenue à Bordeaux et Bayonne en 1939 (Paris, 1941), 426-35.

The subject of Lambert's other monograph was the church of Saint-Pé de Bigorre, a chapel of the Benedictine monastery. It had a cupola which collapsed in the seventeenth century and which, at the time, was compared to the dome of St. Peter's of Rome for its monumentality. We do not know the interior plan of the church, but it was undoubtedly also derived from the Spanish Muslim type. Drawings executed prior to its destruction permit us to examine its exterior, to which windows with lobed arches added an original touch that gives the church an Oriental aspect.⁷³

The vault of the chapel of Talavera, the ancient chapter hall of the old cathedral of Salamanca, erected in the last years of the twelfth or the first of the thirteenth century, was inspired by a Spanish Muslim prototype. This vault was designed by an artist who, though of Occidental background, had been influenced by Muslim work he had seen. Camón Aznar described it in a few pages.⁷⁴

The same author studied the church of San Román of Toledo which had been cleaned of its surface whitewash and repaired a few years ago. It was consecrated in 1221. It is a Mudéjar brick building, the interior of which was covered by paintings of religious subjects deriving from Christian art but combined with Muslim decorative elements.⁷⁵

The recent restoration of Santa Clara of Guadalajara which was stripped of its decorations of the seventeenth century, disfiguring its interior, revealed a Mudéjar church of the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁷⁶

⁷³ *Idem*, "L'ancienne église de Saint-Pé de Bigorre," *Al-Andalus*, VIII (1943), 189-209.

⁷⁴ J. Camón Aznar and T., "La bóveda gótico-morsica de la capilla de Talavera en la catedral vieja de Salamanca," *Al-Andalus*, V (1940), 174-78.

⁷⁵ J. Camón Aznar, "La iglesia de San Román de Toledo," *Al-Andalus*, VI (1941), 451-59.

⁷⁶ F. Layna Serrano, "La iglesia trecentista de Santa Clara de Guadalajara," *Arte Español*, XIII

Some chapels in the cloister of the convent of the Cistercian nuns of Las Huelgas of Burgos have a definite Almohade character and are, therefore, of special importance for the history of Spanish Muslim art. Incidentally, I referred to them in a work on carved stucco decorations discovered in the vaults of the cloister of San Fernando in the same monastery. These carvings of the thirteenth century are extremely beautiful and completely dissimilar to any of the better-known decorations (*Figs. 27 and 28*). They can probably be attributed to Andalusian Muslim artists; however, nothing else resembling them can be found in this region.⁷⁷ The same artists may have worked on the nearby Hospital del Rey, an edifice which has since disappeared. Plans and drawings are preserved, however, and with the help of these I have been able to formulate an idea of its shape.⁷⁸

In the two volumes so far published of the *Catálogo arqueológico y artístico de la provincia de Sevilla*, an ambitious, richly illustrated work with a great number of drawings and photographs, there are various monographs of Mudéjar churches and castles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁷⁹

The custom of frequenting bathhouses was not exclusively Muslim in Spain. The Christians bathed too, and buildings destined for

this purpose were erected in the reconquered cities. In the sixteenth century, during the Renaissance period, this hygienic custom was discontinued except in some Andalusian towns, as for instance Seville. Recently published articles deal with some aspects of the bathhouses on Christian territory.⁸⁰ A publication dealing with this subject as well as the Muslim baths in detail would be of extraordinary interest since it would help to illuminate the heretofore ignored aspects of the intimate life of the Spanish Muslim society of the Middle Ages.

In continuation of the pages previously cited dealing with the *funduk*, I added a few about Christian graneries (*alhondigas*), inns (*posadas*), and lodging houses (*mesones*) that continued after the reconquest to serve the same function as the Spanish Muslim *funduk* and also followed its ground plan. In the same way, after studying the *atarazanas*, or arsenals, I turned to the same constructions erected on Christian territory but built after Islamic prototypes.

At the beginning of this review I referred to the Infantado Palace at Guadalajara, the burning of which during the Civil War in 1936 was a regrettable loss to Spanish art. It was erected between 1480 and 1495. Layna has published documents on these last years of Moorish rule in which he has pointed out the collaboration of the Moorish and Christian workmen from this region of Guadalajara. These artisans included such skilled labor as

(Madrid, 1941), 11-17; T., "La iglesia mudéjar de Santa Clara de Guadalajara," *Al-Andalus*, IX (1944), 225-32.

⁷⁷ L. Torres Balbás, "Las yeserías descubiertas recientemente en las Huelgas de Burgos," *Al-Andalus*, VIII (1943), 209-54; F. Iñiguez, "Las yeserías descubiertas recientemente en 'Las Huelgas' de Burgos," *Archivo Español de Arte*, n° 45 (Madrid, 1941), 306-08.

⁷⁸ L. Torres Balbás, "El Hospital del Rey en Burgos," *Al-Andalus*, IX (1944), 190-98.

⁷⁹ J. Hernández Díaz, Sancho Corbacho and F. Collantes de Terán, *Catálogo arqueológico y artístico de la provincia de Sevilla*, I (A-B) (Sevilla, 1939); II (C) (Sevilla, 1943).

⁸⁰ J. M. Sanz Artibucilla, "Los baños moros de Tarazona," *Al-Andalus*, IX (1944), 218-26; L. Torres Balbás, "Notas sobre Sevilla en la época musulmana: los baños," *Al-Andalus*, X (1945), 179-86; A. Ruiz Moreno, "Los baños públicos en los fueros municipales españoles," *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, III, 152-57 (Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Buenos Aires, 1945); L.T.B., "Los baños públicos en los fueros municipales españoles," *Al-Andalus*, XI (1946), 443-45.

carpenters, makers of lattices (*rejas*) and glazed tiles (*azulejos*).⁸¹

G. Marçais, Director of the Museum Stephen Gsell at Algiers, informed us about a decorative fragment in his collection representing a lion. He believes it to be of the eleventh century. I referred to this article when comparing the fragment to some plaster brackets, cut in the form of lion foreparts that prop an arch of the royal chapel of the mosque of Córdoba. These are attributed to the thirteenth century by some archeologists and to the fourteenth by others. In a short commentary I pointed out the existence of analogous brackets at the Hospital del Rey at Burgos and in various sepulchres of Toledo.⁸² The similarity of these brackets to the lion figures supporting many tombs of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is unquestionable.

Among the forms that passed from Spanish Muslim prototypes into Christian architecture and whose origin is not known are some Aragonese gables of the sixteenth century and some cornices on brick brackets with the profiles of circular arches that appear in Andalusian churches from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century; they are inspired by similar architectural features occurring in Almohade buildings.⁸³

The Marquess of Lozoya commented on the Mudéjar decorations of the halls in the Alcázar of Segovia, which were made during

the fifteenth century by Moorish artists and destroyed during the fire of 1862.⁸⁴

Two notes published in recent years deal with architectural carpentry. In one of them the oldest *alfarje* (flat roof with dwellings on it—a kind of penthouse) preserved in Spain is described. It is Mudéjar work dating from the end of the twelfth century, doubtlessly derived from Spanish Muslim carpentry, and is found in the monastery of Santa María de Huerta (Soria).⁸⁵ The other note is devoted to the framing timbers with important remains of painted decorations used in the cloister of San Juan de Castrojeriz (Burgos). It is also a Mudéjar work of the fourteenth century.⁸⁶

There is a book of Pérez Embid on the Mudéjar architecture of Portugal but it is of small value because of its superficial study of that art and the author's lack of knowledge of the art in Spain.⁸⁷

Industrial and Decorative Arts

Almost all Spanish industrial arts of medieval origin stem from Muslim roots. This extensive field is one of the most brilliant chapters of art history in Spain.

Marquetry work did not end with the termination of the Islamic reign of the Peninsula. Ferrandis states in the above-mentioned article

⁸⁴ Marqués de Lozoya, "La Sala 'del Solio' en el Alcázar de Segovia," *Archivo Español de Arte*, n° 45 (Madrid, 1941), 261-71; T., "La Sala 'del Solio' en el Alcázar de Segovia," *Al-Andalus*, VIII (1943), 470-73.

⁸⁵ T. B., "El más antiguo alfarje conservado en España," *Al-Andalus*, IX (1944), 441-48.

⁸⁶ *Idem*, "La armadura del claustro de San Juan de Castrojeriz (Burgos)," *Al-Andalus*, XI (1946), 230-35.

⁸⁷ F. Pérez Embid, *El mudejarismo en la arquitectura portuguesa de la época manuelina* (Sevilla, 1944); T. B., "El arte mudéjar en Portugal," *Al-Andalus*, X (1945), 214-19.

⁸¹ F. Layna Serrano, *El palacio del Infantado en Guadalajara* (Obras hechas a fines del siglo XV y artistas a quienes se deben) (Madrid, 1941).

⁸² G. Marçais, "Sur un lion de marbre trouvé à la Qal'a des Beni Hammâd," *Revue Africaine*, LXXXIII (Alger, 1939), 182-91.

⁸³ L. Torres Balbás, "Dos formas olvidadas de la arquitectura hispanomusulmana," *Al-Andalus*, VIII (1943), 453-65.

that its artistic products have continued to be manufactured up to the present day.

In studying the miniatures of the *Cantigas* by Alphonse the Wise, Guerrero proved that in them Mudéjar furniture was reproduced.⁸⁸

In 1938, when some laborers started the foundations of a building in the immediate neighborhood of the cemetery of Briviesca (Burgos), they found a small cask that contained a silver tray and a copper pot in which there were several small silver objects. Some of them, as well as the tray, have Mudéjar decorations and seem to have been made in the second half of the fourteenth century.⁸⁹

Samuel de los Santos has described the collection in the Archeological Museum of Córdoba of well curbstones (brocales) made of baked clay. The decorative motifs of some of them are archaic but must have been made during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, probably already within the Christian period.⁹⁰ The large Mudéjar earthen jars of the Toledo Museum were the object of a paper attempting to place them in their correct chronological order.⁹¹

Gonzalez Martí has published a richly illustrated and voluminous work on ceramics from eastern Spain. In it he has studied particularly the products of Paterna, Manises, and Teruel, between the fourteenth and eighteenth

centuries.⁹² It is a pity that this publication was not preceded by another one dealing with Spanish Muslim ceramics from the caliphal to the Naṣrid period, since the Christian pottery, the subject of this work, is based on them. The statements of the author are often controversial; however, the quantity of reproductions in this study increase its importance. Sr. Bofill has published a catalog for the ceramics exhibition held at Barcelona.⁹³

Glazed Catalan ceramics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are just beginning to be fully appreciated, since these products have up to now been considered of Valencian origin. Many of the decorative motifs used on them are Mudéjar. Alice Wilson Frothingham has devoted an article to these ceramics.⁹⁴ As to the wares of Manises, E. Kühnel, in his aforementioned work, refers to the discovery of fragments from this locality in many of the excavations of the Orient—in Cairo, Syria, Asia Minor, and Istanbul.

Together with the Spanish Muslim textiles found in the royal cemetery of Las Huelgas of Burgos were Mudéjar fabrics which Gómez-Moreno likewise describes in his aforementioned work.

The only Spanish Arab rug in existence is preserved in a very poor condition in the Archeological Museum of Granada. In the Mudéjar rugs, undoubtedly made in imitation of the Spanish Arab prototypes, the Islamic techniques persisted throughout the period from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries and these rugs are a match for any

⁸⁸ J. Guerrero Lovillo, "Muebles hispanoárabes en las 'Cantigas' de Alfonso el Sabio," *Al-Andalus*, X (1945), 32-40.

⁸⁹ J. L. Monteverde, "El Tesorillo de Briviesca," *Revista Geográfica Española*, n° 5 (Zarauz, 1939), 63-71.

⁹⁰ S. de los Santos, "Nuevos brocales de pozo hispanomahometanos," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes de Córdoba*, XV (Córdoba, 1944), 187-202.

⁹¹ M. L. Herrero Escudero, "Las Tinajas mudéjares del museo de Toledo. Intento de sistematización" (Inspección general de museos arqueológicos), *Memorias de los Museos Arqueológicos Provinciales*, IV, 1943 (Madrid, 1944), 146-55.

⁹² M. Gonzalez Martí, *Cerámica del Levante español, siglos medievales, loza* (Barcelona 1944).

⁹³ F. de P. Bofill, *Cerámica española, Catálogo de la Exposición organizada por los Amigos de los Museos en el Palacio de la Virreina de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1942).

⁹⁴ A. W. Frothingham, "Lustre Pottery Made in Cataluña," *Notes Hispanic*, II (New York, 1942), 31-49.

Oriental types. The two oldest groups of Mudéjar rugs are: the one known under the name of "del Almirante" because three of them show the same coat of arms as the one ascribed to this noble Castilian family; and the others, known as the "Holbein" type because this famous painter reproduced one of them in one of his pictures. Ferrandis deals with this latter type in the *Archivo Español de Arte*,⁹⁵ while Mrs. Florence Lewis May describes the former group—of which almost all are now in the United States of America—in the publication of The Hispanic Society of America for 1945.⁹⁶

The artistic Mudéjar leathers have been analyzed by Ferrandis right after the Spanish Arab ones in the two publications mentioned above.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE DES PUBLICATIONS DE L'ART ISLAMIQUE PARUS EN SYRIE, 1939-1945

Par Salahud Din Munajjid

Nous donnons dans cet article une bibliographie des plus importants livres et articles parus dans le domaine de l'archéologie et de l'histoire de l'art au cours des années de guerre 1939-1945 et publiés par des établissements syriens, tel que la Direction Générale des Antiquités en Syrie (D.G.A.—Damas) ou étrangers, tel que l'Institut Français de Damas (I.F.D.), et dans des revues ou bulletins de langue arabe, tel que la *Revue de l'Académie Arabe* (R.A.A.D.), la *Revue de Dimashk* (*Rev. Dimashk*), ou de langue française tel que le *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* (B.E.O.).

⁹⁵ J. Ferrandis Torres, "Alfombras moriscas 'tipo Holbein,'" *Archivo Español de Arte*, n° 50 (Madrid, 1942), 103-11.

⁹⁶ F. L. May, "Hispano-Moresque Rugs," *Notes Hispanic*, V (New York, 1945), 31-69.

I. Livres et Brochures

J. SAUVAGET et M. ECOCHARD, *Les Monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, livraison II (Paris, 1940), 116 pp., 8 planches hors texte (I.F.D.).

Ce livre comprend une étude de plusieurs madrasas et bains de Damas. M. Sauvaget y a étudié les madrasas suivantes: (a) Raihāniya, constituée waḳf par l'Emir Raihān en 575 H. (1180); (b) 'Adhrāwiya, fondée par al-Sitt 'Adhrā, fille de Shāhīnshāh, frère de Saladin avant 593 H. (1196); (c) 'Izziya, extra-muros, constituée waḳf en 621 H. (1224) par 'Izz al-Dīn Aibag, Majordome d'al-Mu'azzam; (d) 'Ādiliya, commencée par Nūr al-Dīn, puis continuée par al-Malik al-'Adil et achevée par al-Mu'azzam.¹

M. Sauvaget, dans l'étude méthodique de ces madrasas ajoute aux éléments historiques qui paraissent souvent peu riches, une profonde connaissance architecturale, et donne un modèle type de l'étude d'un monument historique.

Dans la seconde partie du livre, M. Ecochard parle des trois bains ayyoubides suivants: (a) Bain de Sitti 'Adhrā; (b) Bain de Nūr al-Dīn; Bain de Usāma.

M. Ecochard a repris l'étude de ces bains dans son livre *Les Bains de Damas*.

Au cours de ces sept années écoulées, certains de ces monuments ont subi quelques modifications; d'autres ont été restaurés. Des parties couvertes alors, ont été mises à jour. Il y aura lieu donc de faire un appendice. Etant sur place, nous espérons pouvoir faire ces "Notes sur les monuments ayyoubides de Damas" nous-mêmes.

M. ECOCHARD et E. LE COEUR, *Les Bains de Damas* (Beyrouth, 1942), 2 parties, 58 pp. + 132 pp., 2 cartes (I.F.D.).

La première partie est consacrée à un exposé général sur le bain damasquin. Elle comprend: (a) L'eau de Damas; (b) description du hammam; (c) dispositif de l'eau; (d) technique de la construction; (e) fonctionnement du bain; (f) vie sociale du bain; (g) l'avenir du bain. Dans cette partie manque

¹ Pour l'histoire de ces madrasas voir: Salahud Din Munajjid, *Les Madrasas de Damas, d'après 'Almawi* (texte arabe traduit par Sauvage au J. As.). Publication D.G.A. (Damas, 1947).